

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LISBON 00799 01 OF 02 311948Z  
ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 AF-04 ARA-10 IO-06 INR-05  
CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSC-05 L-01 SP-02 PM-03 DODE-00  
/059 W

-----104588 312001Z /50

P 311823Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4584  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USINT HAVANA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 0799

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PEPR PO XA CU UR  
SUBJECT: MELO ANTUNES ON AFRICA/CUBA/USSR

REF: (A) HAVANA 225 (NOTAL), (B) LISBON 430 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: PORTUGUESE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBER MAJ MELO  
ANTUNES DESCRIBES FIDEL CASTRO AS OBSESSED WITH ETHIOPIA.  
CASTRO ALSO TOLD ANTUNES THAT CUBANS WOULD REMAIN IN  
ANGOLA AS LONG AS THE MPLA DESIRES. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 LISBON 00799 01 OF 02 311948Z

1. I LUNCHEDED ALONE JAN 30 WITH MAJ MELO ANTUNES, REVOLUTIONARY  
COUNCIL MEMBER AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER. CONVERSATION  
FOCUSED ON HIS JAN 14-19 VISIT TO HAVANA AND PORTUGUESE  
INTERNAL SITUATION (SEPTTEL). MELO ANTUNES DESCRIBED HIS VISIT  
TO CUBA AS A FACT-FINDING TRIP AND CONFIRMED THAT IT  
STEMMED FROM PORTUGUESE CONCERN OVER EVENTS IN FORMER  
AFRICAN COLONIES. HE SAID HE WAS VERY WELL RECEIVED.

2. CASTRO OBSESSED WITH ETHIOPIA: I ASKED ANTUNES HOW HIS CONVERSATION HAD GONE WITH CASTRO. HE SAID REASONABLY WELL, EXCEPT THAT HE WANTED TO TALK PRIMARILY ABOUT ANGOLA AND CASTRO WAS "OBSESSED" WITH ETHIOPIA. SO THE DISCUSSION PROCEEDED AT CROSS-PURPOSES, WITH CASTRO EXPOSTULATING ON ETHIOPIA AND MELO ANTUNES TRYING TO BRING HIM BACK TO ANGOLA. ACCORDING TO MELO ANTUNES, CASTRO GAVE THE STANDARD JUSTIFICATION FOR CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA: NEED TO DO ITS INTERNATIONAL, ANTI-IMPERIALIST DUTY; NEED TO HELP OPPRESSED BRETHREN; CUBA'S AFRO-AMERICAN HERITAGE. ANTUNES SAID CASTRO APPEARED TO BE SINCERE AS HE RAN THROUGH THIS LITANY BUT THAT HE (ANTUNES) COULDN'T BE SURE. REGARDING ANGOLA, CASTRO TOLD ANTUNES THAT THE CUBANS WOULD REMAIN THERE AS LONG AS THE MPLA WANTED THEM TO.

3. CUBA AND USSR: IN ANTUNES'S VIEW, SMALL BUT NOTICEABLE POLICY DIFFERENCES ARE ARISING BETWEEN CUBA AND THE USSR ON AFRICA. WHEN I ASKED HIM WHAT HE HAD IN MIND, HE RESPONDED THESE DIFFERENCES WERE MERE NUANCES AND ALMOST "MICROSCOPIC" AT PRESENT. NONETHELESS WE OUGHT TO TRY AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE CUBANS MAY NOT BE--AND HE STRESSED MAY--ACTING AS SURROGATES FOR THE SOVIETS.

4. MOZAMBIQUE: ANTUNES SAID THAT SAMORA MACHEL IS  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 LISBON 00799 01 OF 02 311948Z

COMING UNDER INCREASINGLY HEAVY PRESSURE TO ACCEPT LARGE AMOUNTS OF SOVIET MILITARY EQUIPMENT. HE IS RESISTING THIS PRESSURE BY AND LARGE BUT IT GETS HARDER AND HARDER TO DO SO. ANTUNES HIMSELF BELIEVES THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE FRIGHTENED OFF BY MACHEL'S RHETORIC, THAT HE IS SALVAGEABLE FOR THE WEST, AND THAT HE WANTS TO GUARD MOZAMBIQUE'S INDEPENDENCE. ANTUNES BELIEVES, HOWEVER, THAT TIME IS SHORT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THAT MACHEL WILL SOON TILT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER.

5. ANTUNES'S RECOMMENDATION: THE WEST MUST PROVIDE A "VIALE-ALTERNATIVE" TO CUBA AND THE USSR, WHILE SEEKING TO WIDEN EVERY SMALL BREACH BETWEEN MOSCOW AND HAVANA. ECONOMIC AID AND DEVELOPMENT SHOULD BE STRESSED. WE SHOULD NOT OVER-EMPHASIZE THE US-USSR CONFRONTATIONAL ASPECT, BECAUSE THE POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN MENTALITY SIMPLY WILL NOT BUY THIS APPROACH.

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PAGE 01 LISBON 00799 02 OF 02 311935Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 0799

LIMDIS

6. THE US IMAGE: ANTUNES SAID THE AMERICAN IMAGE IN BLACK AFRICA HAS IMPROVED PERCEPTIBLY IN THE LAST YEAR OR SO, BUT, APOLOGIZING FOR SPEAKING FRANKLY, HE SAID BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS WONDER WHETHER AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S STATEMENTS, WHICH THEY APPLAUD, ACTUALLY REPRESENT USG POLICY. THEY WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THEY DO, BUT ARE NOT SURE. ANTUNES CITED NYERERE AND KAUNDA AS FEELING THIS WAY. I ASSURED HIM THEY DO. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT USG POLICY WAS MUCH MORE ATTUNED TO AFRICAN REALITIES THAN HERETOFORE. THIS STOOD IN SHARP CONTRAST TO FRENCH POLICY WHICH, ANTUNES SAID, WAS EARNING PARIS THE ACTIVE DISLIKE OF BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS.  
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PAGE 02 LISBON 00799 02 OF 02 311935Z

7. PORTUGAL'S ROLE: HELPING PROVIDE THE "VIABLE ALTERNATIVE" WILL BE THE PORTUGUESE POSITION. ANTUNES SAID THAT PRESIDENT EANES WAS EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT

AFRICA AND PORTUGUESE ACTIVITIES THERE--EVEN MORE SO  
THAN SOARES AND THE GOVERNMENT. ANTUNES SAID HE WOULD  
PROBABLY BE VISITING SOUTHERN AFRICA--ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE,  
ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, PERHAPS OTHERS--BEFORE THE END OF FEBRUARY.

8. COMMENT: MELO ANTUNES IS NOT PARTICULARLY ACTIVE AT  
PRESENT. NEITHER HIS POSITION ON THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL,  
NOR HIS PRESIDENCY OF ITS CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION KEEPS  
HIM FULLY OCCUPIED. HIS RENEWED INTEREST IN FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS IS PARTLY EXPLICABLE BY HIS DECLINING INFLUENCE ON  
THE DOMESTIC SCENE. HENCE HIS FOREIGN TRAVEL. HIS VIEWS,  
HOWEVER, HAVE A DISTINCTLY THEORETICAL TINGE.  
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## Message Attributes

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